

Message Text

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S E C R E T STATE 177731 TOSEC 080089

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CY

SUBJECT: BRIEFING MEMORANDUM -- DISCUSSION WITH CYPRIOT
PRESIDENT: CSCE REVISION

FOR HARTMAN, STATE, AND CLIFT, NSC

1. PARTICIPANTS:

-- US CYPRUS

THE SECRETARY ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS

ASSISTANT SECRETARY PHONETIC: MA-CAR-EE-OS

- HARTMAN ADDRESSED: YOUR BEATITUDE

-- FOREIGN MINISTER JOHN

-- CHRISTOPHIDES

-- PHONETIC: KRIST-O-PHEE-DEES

-- ADDRESSED: MR. MINISTER

2. LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

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3. CHECKLIST

-- CYPRUS NEGOTIATIONS. EMPHASIZE IMPORTANCE OF MAKARIOS'
DEMONSTRATING GREATER FLEXIBILITY IN INTERCOMMUNAL NEGOTI-

ATIONS.

-- INTERNATIONALIZATION. EXPRESS OUR BELIEF THAT EFFORTS TO INTERNATIONALIZE THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS WILL COMPLICATE AND PROLONG PROSPECTS FOR A SETTLEMENT.

-- US ROLE. MAKE POINT THAT REDUCED US INFLUENCE IN ANKARA DIMINISHES CHANCES FOR SETTLEMENT, AND THAT MAIN LOSERS WILL BE GREEK-CYPRIOTS.

4. CSCE

AFTER THE TURKISH INVASION OF CYPRUS A YEAR AGO, THE CYPRIOT DELEGATION AT CSCE CONTINUED TO REPRESENT THE MAKARIOS GOVERNMENT BUT ASSUMED A VERY LOW PROFILE SO AS NOT TO PROVOKE THE TURKS INTO CHALLENGING THEIR CREDENTIALS. CYPRUS CONCENTRATED ON NEUTRAL AND THIRD WORLD CONCERNS, AS EVIDENCED BY ITS CO-SPONSORSHIP, WITH MALTA AND YUGOSLAVIA, OF A RADICAL DRAFT FOR THE MEDITERRANEAN DECLARATION. ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS IS REPRESENTING CYPRUS AT STAGE III, OVER TURKISH AND TURKISH-CYPRIOT OBJECTIONS.

5. SETTING

YOU LAST MET WITH MAKARIOS ON MAY 5 IN WASHINGTON.

MAKARIOS WILL BE IN HELSINKI TO DRAMATIZE THAT HE IS HEAD OF THE ONLY INTERNATIONALLY RECOGNIZED GOVERNMENT ON CYPRUS. MAKARIOS SEEMS TO CONSIDER THE U.S. AS THE ONE GOVERNMENT ABLE TO INFLUENCE TURKEY TO MAKE CONCESSIONS, BUT REMAINS CRITICAL OF RECENT US ACTIVITIES AND HENCE SKEPTICAL THAT AN EARLY SOLUTION TO HIS ISLAND'S PROBLEMS WILL SOON BE FOUND.

OUR OBJECTIVE, ESPECIALLY IN LIGHT OF LAST WEEK'S CONGRESSIONAL ACTION, IS TO IMPRESS ON MAKARIOS THE NEED FOR FLEXIBILITY ON HIS PART IF THERE IS TO BE ANY HOPE OF
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NEGOTIATING PROGRESS, AND TO PREVENT FURTHER SOLIDIFICATION OF THE STATUS QUO AND FURTHER UNILATERAL ACTS BY THE TURKISH SIDE. ADDITIONALLY, WE WANT TO CONVINCE MAKARIOS THAT THE INTERNATIONALIZATION OF THE CYPRUS ISSUE WOULD ONLY COMPLICATE AND PROLONG A SETTLEMENT AND WORK TO THE DETRIMENT OF CYPRUS ITSELF.

6. ISSUES/TALKING POINTS

A. CYPRUS NEGOTIATIONS

THE RECENT CONGRESSIONAL ACTION ON THE ARMS EMBARGO HAS WORSENERED THE ALREADY GLOOMY PROSPECTS FOR VIENNA III --

SCHEDULED TO BEGIN JULY 31 AFTER UN SECRETARY GENERAL WALDHEIM DEPARTS HELSINKI. MAKARIOS HAS GIVEN UP ON THIS FORUM AND IS LOOKING AHEAD TO A MAJOR EFFORT TO INTERNATIONALIZE THE CYPRUS ISSUE AT THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY THIS FALL. THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS ARE SHOWING INCREASED INTRANSIGENCE, AND SEEM FRUSTRATED BY THE INABILITY TO WIN INTERNATIONAL ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF THEIR "AUTONOMOUS" STATE. CONTINUED INFLEXIBILITY BY MAKARIOS MIGHT ONLY DRIVE THE TURKS TO MORE DRAMATIC ACTS SUCH AS A UNILATERAL DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

TALKING POINTS

-- WE CONTINUE TO SUPPORT THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS IN VIENNA, AND BELIEVE THIS IS THE ONLY KIND OF NEGOTIATING FORUM LIKELY TO PRODUCE POSITIVE RESULTS. ACCORDINGLY, INCREASED EFFORTS MUST BE MADE BY ALL THE PARTIES INVOLVED TO GET THE PEACE EFFORTS OFF DEAD CENTER.

-- OUR ABILITY TO INFLUENCE TURKISH ACTIONS OR TO ENCOURAGE CONCESSIONS HAS BEEN REDUCED BY RECENT CONGRESSIONAL ACTION. INDEED THERE MAY BE LITTLE WE CAN DO UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES. BUT WE WILL CONTINUE TO TRY.

-- BOTH SIDES, INCLUDING THE GREEK CYPRIOTS, MUST DEMONSTRATE A FLEXIBLE POSITION IF THERE IS TO BE PROGRESS.

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-- WHATEVER THE RESULTS OF THE VIENNA TALKS, WE MUST WORK TOGETHER TO KEEP THE INTERCOMMUNAL FORUM ALIVE. INTERNATIONALIZATION PROVIDES NO REAL ALTERNATIVE. IT ONLY COMPLICATES PEACE EFFORTS AND WILL ONLY LEAD TO A FURTHER STIFFENING OF TURKISH ATTITUDES.

B. HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE

WE HAVE CONTRIBUTED A TOTAL OF 25 MILLION DOLS IN FY 75, CHanneled THROUGH THE UN HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS, TO ASSIST THE GREEK AND TURKISH-CYPRIOT REFUGEES. WE HOPE TO OBTAIN CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL FOR THE SAME AMOUNT IN

FY 76. WE MAY BE ABLE TO PROVIDE ASSISTANCE FUNDS WHICH THE GOC SEEKS TO AID IN THE ISLAND'S ECONOMIC RECOVERY ONCE A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT IS REACHED.

TALKING POINTS

-- WE HAVE AN FY 75 PROGRAM OF 25 MILLION DOLS FOR HUMANITARIAN AID. WE WANT TO TAILOR OUR FY 76 PROGRAM TO THE

NEEDS OF THE CYPRIOT PEOPLE.

-- WE ALSO WANT TO AID IN THE ISLAND'S ECONOMIC RECOVERY.
WE WOULD WELCOME THE ARCHBISHOP'S SUGGESTIONS ON HOW OUR
ASSISTANCE CAN BE USED WITH MAXIMUM EFFECT.

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